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Aspects of African Society in the Agglomeration of Dakar: 000
Family Groups and Neighborhood Units

/Aspects de la société africaine dans l'agglomération dakaroise:
groupes familiaux et unités de voisinage/

by P. Mercier

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There can as yet be no question of making a synthetic report on the ~~data~~ ¹²¹ obtained by the various sociological investigations stricto sensu undertaken in the agglomeration of Dakar. Many domains on which we still have only very summary data remain to be explored: the sociography of groupings can only be sketched; important chapters such as the religious sociology, the sociology of leisure, etc., must be made the subject of deeper inquiries. The very broad plan of study that we elaborated at the beginning of 1952 could obviously not be wholly realized (1). The complexity of the composition,

1. It was published in the Annual Report of the IFAN for 1953.

racial, ethnic, occupational, etc., of the urban center requires long and diverse investigations. On the other hand, the necessity of comparative studies in other urban centers of Senegal has very rapidly become apparent, studies which favorable circumstances permitted us to undertake as early as the end of 1953 (2). The present article will therefore be limited to a

2. In particular, the basic documentation furnished by recent censuses of the cities of Thiès and Saint-Louis has permitted there the realization of investigations by questionnaires in accordance with the sampling method. We regret that in Dakar the lack of a recent and precise census hinders us in entering upon many aspects of the demography and sociology of this town. And we hope that it may soon be realized.

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very small number of aspects of the social structure; allusions will be made to the others when it is necessary. 121

On the one hand, we shall illustrate certain aspects of the structure of kinship groups in the African population; despite the shrinking of the functions performed by the family in an urban environment, despite the diversification of groupings with specialized functions, which characterize urban social life, their role continues to be of primary importance (3). 121
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3. The demographic account
by L. Masse, of course, crosschecks
certain aspects of this study. Cf.
our preface /untranslated/.

Very /12/ close to it is the one played by the ethnic group, which will only be outlined here. On the other hand, we shall study the role played by certain non-structured de facto groupings: neighborhood units, groups of friends, more or less independent, depending on the case, of traditional, ethnic, and familial ties and structures. The study of structured groupings of a new type will be reserved for another work; we shall only give brief indications on this subject.

The profound interconnection of the social phenomena observable in a defined environment (1) must, however, as

1. Which itself is never closed.
Cf., for example, the role of the
waves of seasonal immigrants in
colonial towns.

always, be emphasized. The first part of this account will therefore be devoted to a very general account of the frameworks into which one must recast any study of the Dakar social complex (2). 121
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2. These have been, up to the

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present, limited to the Dakar agglomeration proper; the suburbs more or less completely tied to the town have been provisionally left aside (Ouakam, Hann, the recent subdivision of Dagoudane-Pikine, etc.).

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I

Dakar has known enormous development between the two wars, and especially since 1946. Demographic development, economic development (3). 369^x

3. Cf., for example, the accounts of an American geographer after two voyages to Dakar, one before the war (1935-36), the other in 1947: D. Whittlesey, "Dakar and the Other Cape Verde Settlements," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1941, pp. 609-638; "Dakar Revisited," The Geographical Review, Oct. 1948, pp. 626-632. And the changes have accelerated even more.

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At the same time, the characteristics of Dakar society, it being well understood that it is broken up into several partial societies, linked organically, but each of which have their particular problems, have undergone important changes. To account for them would exceed the limits of this work; we shall content ourselves with recalling some essential features.

A. -- The towns born of colonization have been established [361]

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everywhere under comparable conditions and for similar reasons, 369^x
ports, trading points, administrative centers, etc., these di- 361
verse elements being joined to one another (4). One can

4. See the general article by
J. Dresch, "Villes d'Afrique
Occidentale /Towns of West
Africa/," Les Cahiers
d'Outre-Mer, July-September
1950, pp. 201-230.

nevertheless distinguish at present several types (5), some of

5. We limit ourselves, of
course, to the African West,
the towns of southern Africa,
for example, having had a
different development and
being placed in a considera-
bly different social context.

the essential criteria to consider being the following:

/13/ 1. Their functions have more or less multiplied and
diversified; thus, at Dakar, a beginning of industrialization
and tendencies toward the formation of a West African cultu-
ral center announce a new phase of development. D. Whittlesey,
in his first article on Dakar, already noted: "Dakar, in all
the African West, is the only town in the European (or Western)
sense of the term (1)."

1. He added: "No other
center shows the very clear spatial
differentiation of functions which
characterizes the urbs occidentalis...

/13 cont. /

this differentiation of functions has only taken shape in the last three decades (op. cit., p. 609). This differentiation has been greatly accentuated in recent years.

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2. The time and variable possibilities that the colonial towns have had to crystalize new social behavior and forms permit one to place them on a scale between two extreme types. There are old towns, this with respect to the measure of time that one must adopt in order to place the colonial towns, the majority of which date from only a few decades ago and very few of which have reached a century of existence; there are absolutely new towns.

a) The old town has already had time to structure itself. The original ethnic differences are being obliterated; one could say that there is being created from multiple contributions a new ethos peculiar to the city.

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The European and African elements have contacts of variable amplitude and partially mingle in the habitat. Some Europeans found families. A sizable mixed society is formed. A proportion of higher schooling and in certain cases landed wealth have favored the creation of a leading African stratum. Some political traditions have been created there. The African population has become stabilized; the "family home" is in town and no longer in the bush. This extreme case is rare; one finds an example of it in the central part of Saint-Louis of the Senegal, the island. Still a new town, with an unstable population, little urbanized up to now, it is juxtaposed there, and the contribution of new layers of European population has changed certain data of the problem.

b) The recent town on the other hand, has very few stabilized Europeans. The mass of Africans is not

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/13 cont. /

stabilized either. Most of them were not born in town. There is no mixed society of any importance. The structures adapted to the new environment in which the rural people, recently settled, or seasonal people, who stream toward the town and salaried work, find themselves placed are hardly delineated yet. A relative "social amorphism" prevails. The European town and the African town, on the other hand are more clearly separated. This is the case, in part, for a town such as Brazzaville (2).

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2. Cf. G. Balandier, "Approche sociologique des 'Brazzavilles noires'; Etude préliminaire /Sociological Approach to the 'Black Brazzavilles': Preliminary Study/", Africa, XXII, 1, January 1952, pp. 23-34.

/14/ 3. Among the colonial towns, some have received an African population that is ethnically homogeneous or characterized by a well-marked dominant ethnic group; others have been populated by waves of immigrants of very diverse origin. The role that the traditional structures and values retain is therefore of unequal importance. Thus the clear contrast between the two "Black Brazzavilles" pointed out by G. Balandier (1). Thus the contrast between the two

1. Ibid.

western and eastern annexes of Saint-Louis, Guet-Ndar and Sor, neither of which, however, can be regarded as completely urbanized.

4. The numerical importance of the European population, in absolute value and in relative value, is quite variable. Its growth is accompanied by modifications of structure

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(occupational structure, class structure, etc.). It seems that there are certain numerical thresholds beyond which important qualitative changes make themselves felt, for example, in the area of race relations. We shall return to this.

B. -- Dakar is one of the most complex cases. It has some aspects of an old colonial town, and in fact it is one of the oldest in West Africa (2). But this one has been

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2. Counting only the colonial towns; the pre-European towns, with specific characteristics, are excluded here.

covered in a way by a town of the second type (3). The

3. Cf. above, I, A, 1, b.

mixture of the social characteristics of the one town and of the other permits one to understand certain features of evolution of Dakar. On the other hand, the dominant original ethnic group, the Lebu group, has progressively lost its importance. Finally, a last phase of the development of the town makes it seem like a center of European population, still unstable.

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1. Considering only the African population, one ascertains that the elements that are old and stabilized -- unequally and under diverse conditions -- (Goréean "old families," Lebu community) have been submerged by a heterogeneous mass. It is nevertheless necessary to specify:

a) The Lebu, despite the contributions received from the nearby suburb which is their traditional habitat zone (4), undoubtedly represent hardly more than 10% of

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4. Cf. G. Balandier and P. Mercier, "Particularisme et évolution: les pêcheurs

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Lebou /Particularism and
evolution: the Lebou Fishermen/,"
Etudes Sénégalaises, No. 3, 1952.
Result of investigations made
in 1946.

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the population. (5). Their /15/ customary organization,

5. The estimates, furnished by the way with every reservation by the Dakar Délégation, give 15% Lebou, but for the whole of the commune (suburban villages included); in the town itself the proportion is not as high. We consider only this one, without forgetting, however, that many Lebou living in the villages, and even Rufisque, work in Dakar. In the investigation by questionnaires conducted in Dakar, which gives, if not a true ethnic representation, at least some valuable indications, we encountered a little less than 10% Lebou.

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moreover, continues to exist (1), but becomes more and

1. On this subject, cf. C. Michel,
"L'organisation coutumière
(sociale et politique) de la
collectivité Leboue de Dakar
/The customary organization
(social and political) of the
Lebou community of Dakar/,"
Bull. du Comité d'Etudes Historiques
et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F., XXII,

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3, 1934; G. -J. Duchemin,
"La République Lebou et le
peuplement actuel /The Lebou
republic and the present popu-
lation/," in "La presqu'île du
Cap-Vert /The Cape Verde
peninsula/," Etudes Sénégalaises,
No. 1, 1949.

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more formal, and its efficacy is reduced besides by the new
political cleavages (2). Their role as holders of the landed

2. This goes as far as a splitting
up of the traditional functions
and those of the heads of quarters
between the supporters of the two
large present-day parties
(SFIO and BDS).

property has progressively shrunk and remains important
only in the suburbs (3). Finally, the Lebou particularism (4)

3. On this subject cf. the in-
dications furnished by J. Dresch,
op. cit., pp. 219-220.

4. Cf. G. Balandier and P.
Mercier, op. cit., passim.

is tending to be obliterated, and the boundaries between
Lebou and Wolof become more blurred (5).

5. In the figures furnished by
the Dakar Délégation, one sees
accounting for 11% a category

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called Wolof-Lebou, for which one cannot know to what extent it is the result of mixtures between the two groups and to what extent it is the effect of a "Wolofization" of the Lebou.

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b) As far as the Lebou and the Wolof are concerned, and to a lesser extent certain other groups, contacts with the regions and kinship groups of origin remain important. Let us add that for a population in large majority Moslem, the religious centers attracting pilgrims are in the interior of Senegal. A large proportion of the population is therefore not at all completely uprooted, and the phenomena of "destructurization" which generally accompany the rural exoduses are less marked than in most of the recent towns. Therefore the fact that only 22% of the persons questioned during our investigation were born in Dakar is less significant than it seems at first glance (6).

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6. Compare with the figures given by G. Balandier for Poto-Poto: 90 to 98% for persons born outside of the town (op. cit., p. 25). On the other hand it must not be forgotten that even in the "old towns" in France the proportion of persons born in the town where they live may be very low, for example, 25% at Auxerre (cf. C. Bettelheim and S. Frère, Une ville française moyenne, Auxerre en 1950, Etude de structure sociale et urbaine /An average French town, Auxerre in 1950; Study of social and urban structure/, Paris, 1950).

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c) It must be noted also that not all of the immigrant population is of rural origin. Many persons questioned by us, especially among the functionaries, were originally from "old towns" /16/ (Saint-Louis, Rufisque, etc.). It is then a matter of elements already strongly urbanized, for which, in any case, the question of uprooting would not pose itself in the same manner as for the rural people. The percentage of persons born in the town thus does not express exactly the degree of urbanization of the population.

2. Under these conditions, the ethnic heterogeneity of the Dakar agglomeration does not signify, as in other centers presenting the same character, that social "amorphism" prevails (1).

1. Likewise, in a town such as Cotonou, the proximity of the big traditional centers of Dahomey counterbalances in part the facts of dissociation which one would suppose more important in view of the considerable ethnic mixtures that are produced there (cf. J. Lombard, "Cotonou, ville africaine /Cotonou, African town/, " Etudes Dahoméennes, X, 1954).

It only reveals itself at certain levels and in certain sectors of the population (seasonal workers, members of ethnic groups represented by a very low number of persons, etc.). The topographic regrouping of people of the same origin however, is far from being systematic, as we shall see in the study of neighborhood groups. At the very most one can mention some dominant ethnic groups in certain quarters (Saracolé sector of the quarter of Nyaye-Thioker, for example), and the tendency to the least dispersion which characterizes certain groups (Moors, for example). The purely Lebou quarters have ceased

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to exist by two processes: forced displacement of old quarters at the time of the creation of the Médina, massive settlement of foreign "tenants" in the quarters remaining in place. If the Lebou names of quarters have often been preserved (even after their displacement), if the headships of quarters are still in major part held by Lebou, these soon perhaps will be only historical vestiges. Moreover, the ethnic composition of the quarters and of the "compounds" is constantly being transformed. The numerical importance of the diverse groups cannot be established in any precise fashion because of the lack of detailed censuses. We shall mention as an indication:

a) The official figures, furnished by the way with every reservation, and valid for the whole of the commune of Dakar (the suburban villages included): Lebou, 15%; Wolof, 25%; "Wolof-Lebou," 11%; Sérère, /Serer/, 3%; Bambara, 9%; Toucouleur /Tukolor/, 10%; Peul, 5%; Moors, 4%; Diola, 5%; Soussou /Susu/, 2%; Cape Verdeans (Portuguese), 2%; etc. (2).

2. Percentages taken from figures shown in the 1953 report. Not mentioned, by the way, are persons originally from Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey. They do not seem to figure in the total, the headings including only: persons originally from other territories of the A. O. F. /French West Africa/, persons from Cape Verde, persons from Togo, persons from the Cameroun, persons originally from AEF /French Equatorial Africa/ and those from Sierra Leone.

/17/ b) The fragmentary data gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires conducted by the Section

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de Sociologie in the first half of 1953. The 1,231 persons questioned were divided among 43 different ethnic groups. The groups of small numerical importance, however, were not all represented (1). One found (the few percentages

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1. Some others, represented in all Dakar by only a few individuals, were encountered in the course of subsequent investigations.

given are only indicative):

-- persons originally from the Senegal-Sudan zone: [166]
besides the Lebou (9%), the Wolof (43%)(2), the Toucouleur [167]

2. Included here is a certain number of persons who were manifestly of Lebou origin and who nevertheless called themselves Wolof, proof of the crisis of the old Lebou particularism.

(11%), the Sérère (5%), the Bambara (6%), the Sarakolé (3%), the Socé, the Mandingue /Mandingo/, the Khassonké /Kassonke/, the Peul, the Diola (3%) (3), the Mandiaque;

3. The figure furnished by official sources undoubtedly is closer to reality; there is, in fact, among the Diola, a majority of workers, permanent or seasonal, and this is the category that proved to be the most difficult to contact. The proportion of workers in the total number of persons who agreed to answer our questionnaire is much smaller than it should be.

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-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi;

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonié, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé;

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization

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and Urbanization in Africa,
Abidjan, 1954).

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tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations [182] between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of inter-marriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely.

4. The new structures which characterize the towns give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties.

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5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and

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2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

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the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and Europeans.

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a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African population has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied by qualitative changes: development of the categories of technicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants. This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population, has seen a division /19/ into classes inherited from the society of origin become marked. At the same time, the European community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own services (specialized merchants, etc.).

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b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these transformations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place). But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina, almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

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1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this.

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north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

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differences in the daily rhythm
are the arguments put forward
by those who do not use purely
racist arguments.

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fact on the differences in economic status.

c) In principle there is no segregation in social life, either; certain public places, however (cafés, bars, etc.), strive directly or indirectly, to secure for themselves a purely European clientele. On the other hand, many clubs and associations of a recreational nature exclude Africans in fact (it is rarely statutory). The syndicates themselves, although they are not in principle founded on a racial basis, do not effect a mixing of Africans and Europeans, as a result of the divergence of interests and claims; the strikes, when they occur, are in practice purely African. Finally, the political parties are for the most part almost exclusively African; the European population as a whole is disinterested in local political activity. [575] [467] [468] [665]

d) Essentially the relations between Africans and Europeans are: relations at the place of work, between colleagues and, much more often, between subordinates and superiors, employees and bosses; relations between masters and domestics at home; common participation in cultural and sportive activities; relations between teachers and pupils or students. Relations of a more personal character (regular relationships, friendships, etc.) are much rarer. Intermarriages -- almost exclusively between African men and European women -- have a particular significance; there are practically none that have been contracted locally.

/20/ e) Here we shall not touch on the area of inter-racial judgments and attitudes, which must be the subject of more detailed investigations. It will suffice to say that all the observations made permit one to conclude that there is a

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state of tension between certain sectors of each of the two populations that is much more obvious than it was a few years ago. New facts have intervened in this period (not to speak of the grasp of clearer political perception by certain African elements). The number of European (men and women) workers and subordinate employees has increased, and this coincides with a considerable extension of vocational instruction and general instruction (at all levels) among the Africans, resulting in a much greater frequency of competitive situations in the occupational and economic spheres (1).

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1. The study of unemployment in Dakar is very revealing. Besides the causes of unemployment which one could call classic, one more and more notices those that are due to this competitive situation.

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Such a glance shows how numerous, important, and entangled are the problems to be studied. A general publication will later give an account of the various investigations in progress. This account will permit one to place the problems that we shall bring up next. It will also permit one to understand the spirit in which our first inquiries were conducted.

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II

The information that we are going to give on the African family structure in the Dakar agglomeration is based, on the one hand, on documentation gathered at the time of the investigation by questionnaires, and, on the other hand, on facts confirmed through broader interviews and applying to a much more restricted number of families. These last have permitted us to observe in a more precise fashion the dynamic aspect of the problem.

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On the general level of our study, it did not seem indispensable to take into account the details of organization and the traditions peculiar to each ethnic group. These monographic aspects will have their place in a more complete work. The common traits are sufficiently well marked, at least as far as the systems of patrilineal and bilateral kinship are concerned, which are dominant by far in the populations represented in Dakar.

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There should be noted in passing, however, certain distinctions between: a) the groups which existed prior to the creation of the town, that is to say, in effect, the Lebou; b) the groups which, even if they are /21/ numerically important, arrived in the town in migrations which rarely involved complete kinship groups, the latter having been able later to reconstitute themselves on the spot to a variable extent.

It is necessary to recall here some general features of the African kinship organizations, in order to place better the intervening changes in certain domains (1).

1. Cf. in particular A.R.
Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde,
African Systems of Kinship and
Marriage, London, 1950.

Kinship is to a certain extent an abstract notion; it does not necessarily coincide with consanguinity, and the obligations in the order of kinship do not spring solely from the latter. These obligations, on the other hand, extend, at least in the line of dominant filiation, as far as the known limits of the kinship group; they are only more precise and more frequently actualized on the level of the closest relatives (2).

2. The limits of the group
of relatives considered as close
are not everywhere the same,

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as the extremely variable extension of marriage prohibitions shows.

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The local unit coincides more or less completely with the kinship group delineated by the line of dominant filiation; a village quarter is in principle the habitat of a given lineage.

Marriage is not a commitment between two individuals, [581] guaranteed by a state or religious body (3), but the conclusion

3. This guarantee intervenes among the Moslems, but in most cases does not play the essential role.

of an agreement between two kinship groups, an agreement which assumes, directly or indirectly, the form of an exchange of forces. The networks of matrimonial alliances, while permitting each kinship group to maintain and increase its substance, create bonds, constantly reinforced, between diverse groups, thus assuring the cohesion of the ethnic group that their assemblage composes. Therefore, in the vast majority of cases [582] one does not conceive of marriage outside the ethnic group.

Even in the systems of patrilineal filiation, the maternal line is likewise a source of obligations. In particular, in [60A] most populations -- and very especially in Senegal -- the role of the uterine uncle is important (4).

4. Cf., as far as the Lebou are concerned, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit., passim.

It is important to keep these basic elements in mind in the course of the account that we shall give about the problems that are posed at present.

/22/ We shall first give some figures expressing certain

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salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2).

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

/22 cont./

itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic groups, socio-occupational categories.

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B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of relatives making up a single household is very variable. We have defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting together at least a part of their resources.

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[104]

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose.

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There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another

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(1)

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

723 cont. /

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

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2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3).

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3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews.

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/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories:

[565]

Socio-occupational Category	Number of Households	Number of persons not belonging to the restricted family (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+5
Farmers, fishermen	23	47%	26%	13%	4%		2%	2%
Laborers, domestics	124	35%	37%	12%	8%	4%	0.5%	0.5%
Workers and artisans	290	38%	29%	14%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Master workmen	21	23%	23%	42%		10%		
Subordinate employees and functionaries	265	42%	33%	13%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Superior employees and functionaries	39	46%	43%	7%		2%		
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	48	46%	35%	14%	4%			1%
Merchants, transport, etc.	122	38%	36%	13%	7%	2%	1%	1%

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b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata?

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The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

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/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1).

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1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

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c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

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/25 cont./

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups:

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On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille étendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases.

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On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family.

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Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The

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/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains.

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C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them.

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1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1).

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1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

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/26 cont./

There are many who, in the present unemployment crisis, can only maintain themselves in town thanks to the aid of their relatives. This results in a spontaneous form of insurance against unemployment (2).

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2. Which has become more and more important in Dakar in the last two years. Without speaking of the seasonal immigrants who find no work, the number of recorded unemployed amounts to more than 2,000.

2. The figures expressing the extent of family groups do not give, in a direct fashion, indications of the importance of this "familial parasitism." The fact of finding work, when it is a matter /27/ of a close relative, does not signify in any way that the group which has formed is going to split up: the tendency toward the traditional familial regrouping is not exercised solely in terms of extreme forms of mutual aid. The other data in figures that we gathered permit in themselves only a first approach to the problem (1). These

1. In fact, even though the idea of salaried person is clear, that of the person enjoying a non-salaried income is very broad; it does not assume that this income is able to assure completely the subsistence of this person (petty trade, piece work, etc.); this person may, since he is attached to a kinship group larger than the restricted family, benefit from partial aid. The investigation conducted at Thiès on

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/27 cont./

living standards made apparent the complexity of the notion of income; for example, there are incomes which do not correspond to any work, but come solely from a given social position (belonging to the griot caste, etc.). A similar investigation will be conducted in Dakar in August 1954 and will permit precise statements concerning these problems.

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data only represent a snapshot taken on a certain date; the situation is very changeable, the dependent relatives, except when it is a matter of old men, are such only temporarily. Furthermore, the manifestations of familial mutual aid may go beyond the framework of the household. Let us take, in the whole of our population, the family groups containing more than five adults. The number of persons enjoying an income, reported for one adult, comes to between 0.5 and 0.7. One does not ascertain significant differences between categories on the quantitative level, the scale of situations in each one of them being very broad. Qualitatively, however, important differences appear. In the categories of superior functionaries and employees, members of the teaching profession and the intellectual professions, etc., and to a lesser degree among the subordinate functionaries and employees, women practicing petty commerce or similar activities are much less numerous than in other categories (but the number of women in a salaried occupation is higher). On the other hand, among the dependent adults (2), the adult sons and

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2. In our investigations, we have arbitrarily fixed the lower limit for the "adult" category at 18-20 years of age.

/27 cont. /

daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered.

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1),

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material

2. It is obviously limited by the

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demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

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position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

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/28 cont. /

employees and 15% of the
members of the teaching and
intellectual professions, etc.

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those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations
in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to
socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our popu-
lation, we find: among the monogamous (696 families),
71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as
the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group;
among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families),
43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group
as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from
a different ethnic group. The following tables give the dis-
tribution by socio-occupational categories:
(tables on following pages)

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Socio-occupational Category	Number of monogamous restricted families	Wives of the same ethnic group as their husband		Wives from a group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	16	14	87%	2	13%
Laborers, domestics	81	68	84%	13	16%
Workers and artisans	214	152	71%	62	29%
Master workmen	11	5	45%	6	55%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	208	136	65%	72	35%
Superior functionaries and employees	29	19	64%	10	36%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	47	28	59%	19	41%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	47	65	84%	12	16%

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Socio-occupational Category	Number of polygamous restricted families (2 and 3 wives)	All the wives of same ethnic group as the husband		At least one wife from an ethnic group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	7	3	43%	4	57%
Laborers, domestics	14	7	50%	7	50%
Workers and artisans	75	36	48%	39	52%
Master workmen	10	3	30%	7	70%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	57	25	44%	32	66%
Superior functionaries and employees	10	2	20%	8	30%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	5	2	40%	3	60%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	45	19	42%	26	58%

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1. The first table is more significant. In fact, the number of polygamous families is too low in absolute value in certain categories for one not to fear distortion, in the conditions under which the investigation was made. In any case, the fact that the only wife (or the first wife of potential polygamists) is from an ethnic group different from that of their husband is more important than when it is a matter of a second or third wife of a polygamist.

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2. As far as the monogamists are concerned, the categories of farmers, laborers, and merchants are clearly below the average (29%). The workers and artisans reach this average exactly. They likewise form among the polygamists a rather clear grouping, characterized by the preservation of ethnic values. One problem is posed here, however: the master workmen, contrary to what we have previously ascertained, do not fit into this group. We lack factors for an explanation of this seemingly aberrant fact. Subsequent investigations will try to illuminate it.

3. The categories of the subordinate functionaries and employees more clearly approximates here those of the superior functionaries and employees, of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. In this whole, the ethnic values, and this is confirmed by other investigations, tend to play a less important role; they are far, however, from complete obliteration (1).

1. See below some notes on the composition of groups of friends.

4. It would be necessary, however, to shade this account by studying the prevalent behaviors in the different ethnic groups (2). One finds that the situation varies in terms of:

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2. It is necessary to take into account the fact that the ethnic groups, except for the most important numerically, are not

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Wolof MS30

/30 cont./

regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

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on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

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1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

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Wolof MS30

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uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1).

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1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanguineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)--

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2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

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a matter of a de facto matrilocal,
non-institutionalized marriage.

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do not form separate households: The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups.

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2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;

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-- September: the brother of the family head, an itinerant merchant, settled in Dakar for six weeks; he was not entirely dependent on his brother;

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-- October: the son of a uterine cousin of the family head was entrusted to him for the school year; he is not entirely dependent on his relative;

-- December: two cousins who work seasonally in Dakar came from the region of the river; the first found work and was laid off in March, but he stayed until May; the second only did occasional work and left in April; they were both dependent on their relative for at least a third of their stay.

One thus sees how the exercise of diverse obligations stemming from kinship ties caused the size of the family to vary in the course of the year. The number of adults living entirely or partially on one salary went from a minimum of three to a maximum of five.

/33/ b) The second family is Lebou. It consists permanently of the husband, one of his two wives, her two children (the second wife, with her two children, lives in another sector of the same quarter), a uterine nephew, and a sister of the wife. The following changes were noted during this period (not including the many, very short visits of relatives living in the area of Rufisque):

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-- September: the younger brother of the family head returns, his military service completed; he will not find work until March and moreover will continue to live with his brother; until then, there will be only one salary.

-- December: the second wife leaves for a stay with her relatives and leaves her eldest son, a schoolboy, in the care of her co-wife; this does not in fact represent an increase in burden;

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-- February: after the death of their father, the young brother of the wife joins her.

One has had then, during this period, at first three and

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/33 cont. /

and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

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G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to retreat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

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2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

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1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.

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2. And much less, as we have seen, with regard to the facts of "familial parasitism."

categories that on the whole have the same way of life. The distinction which has imposed itself between two groups of categories corresponds to this last fact. The boundary, however, is unequally clear, depending on the phenomena considered. One finds the problem of cultural persistences cutting across the changes of structure and way of life in the course of consolidation.

3. The at least partial entry into the western "technical milieu" appears to be a factor of transformation much less important than schooling. The majority of the specialized workers are still in the most traditionalist group, with only the master workmen approaching, in certain forms of their average behavior, an intermediate position. The level of schooling itself, however, is still only weakly decisive, except in the category of members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. The relation between level of studies and the way of life, even though it tends to assert itself, is not direct in every case.

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III

The group of relatives no longer coincides with the local unit. Neither the quarter, the sector, the block, nor in certain cases the "compound" are ethnically homogeneous any longer. In this case, what is the social role of the neighborhood? Under what conditions does it create relationships of a new type which are to be integrated into the new urban "pattern"? The groups of friends were formed essentially in the framework of the age class (3) as a consequence of the ethnic group (and often of the group of relatives in the broad sense).

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3. See, for example, G. Balandier and P. Mercier, op. cit.

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/34 cont. /

group of relatives in the broad sense). What is the influence of the neighborhood factor, among other new factors, on their constitution now? Such are the principal questions for which we shall give the first, very brief elements of an answer. 369*
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A. -- The neighborhood unit does not constitute a structured grouping, as in the village quarters. The decrease of mobility and of heterogeneity condition the creation of a common milieu of life, in the framework of the quarter as in that of the block. But, particularly in Médina, the quarters represent only an artificial segmentation and have no clearly /35/ marked centers (of commerce, of leisure, etc.). The weakness of the authority and prestige of the quarter heads is another aspect of this fact. As for the smaller elements, groups of blocks, blocks, compounds, their transformation into neighborhood communities based on a minimum of permanence of their components has advanced unevenly. The study of a certain number of blocks has permitted us to distinguish several types. In the first, almost all the people know one another (1), they often visit one another,

1. It is very easy there to find a person whose exact address is not known.

help one another, and on occasion have common leisure-time activities. In the opposite type, there is very little personal contact and mutual aid, and one hardly knows the names of the neighbors, even the immediate ones. An intermediate type is the one where the neighborhood relationships are reduced to very small circles, the relationships dispersed throughout the town, however, retaining more importance. It seems that this is the most frequent case. We shall briefly describe a block of this type.

It is often difficult to pick out from the complex network of relationships between the inhabitants of a block those which are based purely on neighborhood. In many cases, the fact of the neighborhood is eclipsed, as a factor of explanation, by

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/35 cont. /

kinship, kinship by marriage, membership in the same ethnic group, the same religious persuasion, the same occupation; certain other facts are ambivalent, for example, membership in the same association. In the study that we have made of a certain number of blocks of Médina, we have tried to isolate the neighborhood factor at different levels of participation in common activities. We essentially retained: reciprocal visits, conversation groups, mutual aid (loans, etc.), relationships between women, the play groups of children. The relationships of simple politeness are not retained. We considered successively the relationships inside the compound -- when it is not inhabited by a single family -- and the relationships within the block. In the last case, a somewhat arbitrary limit is posed: the street is not a border, but a zone of assembly. It has not yet been possible to study completely the social role of the latter.

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In the block that we shall take as an example, 12 out of 14 compounds were studied; the inhabitants of the other two compounds were on a trip or refused to lend themselves to the investigation. The block as a whole is very heterogeneous ethnically, but, however, with a clear dominance of Wolof-Lebou (2).

[563]

2. Six family heads who were manifestly
Lebou persisted in calling themselves
Wolof. Cf. above.

It contains 39 family groups (representing 199 persons) and 11 isolated bachelors, tenants of some of the preceding families. Five of these bachelors only live /36/ in Dakar seasonally, but in principle always in the same place. The distribution of the family heads by ethnic groups is as follows: 28 Wolof, 4 Lebou, 5 Toucouleur, 1 Sarakolé, 1 Socé. Among the isolated bachelors, one has: 5 Wolof, 2 Toucouleur, 2 Socé, 1 Bambara, 1 Soussou.

[427]

[563]

1. The study of the relationships within the compounds shows a certain variety of situations. These compounds are

'[see chart, pp. 56-57.-Analyst]

/36 cont. /

divided into several types by their composition:

-- Compounds composed of a single family group: extended kinship group based on the nephew-uterine uncle relationship (B), restricted family (E);

-- Compounds composed of restricted family groups, but having between them ties of distant collateral kinship (J);

-- Compounds composed of restricted or extended family groups tied only by the ethnic relationship (A and N);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families from different ethnic groups (F, G);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, all of the same ethnic group (L);

-- Compounds grouping restricted families and isolated persons, and ethnically varied (C, D, K, M).

The compounds of the first two types will not detain us; family solidarity plays a major role there. In the others, the situation is extremely variable. Frequent relationships exist everywhere, on the level of the children (play groups), less frequently on the level of women, still less frequently on the level of men. Let us consider essentially the relationships which are not sustained by the ethnic community.

a) The bachelors, except when they are of the same ethnic group as some of the families of the compound (1 case, in compound D), participate little in the life of the compound; most eat outside and only spend the night at home. Mutual aid does little for them; most said that they had recourse, in case of sickness, to the aid of friends -- almost always of the same ethnic group -- on the outside. In one single case (compound K), the bachelors -- of the same ethnic group, moreover -- form a group eating together, going out together, etc.; the cooking is done for them by an old woman -- also of the same ethnic group -- a widow who lives with her children.

b) Within the compound the ethnic disparity among the families does not exclude some minimal forms of mutual aid (loans of utensils, small purchases, care of children, etc.)

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Dakar

/36 cont. /

There is one single case of a ménage having practically no relations with the rest of the compound, that of a Sarakolé family (compound F).

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/37/ c) The extreme cases of mutual aid, on the contrary, are only noticed among families that are related or at least of the same ethnic group. Thus, in the compounds I, N, D, one finds an unemployed man, married and father of a family, temporarily taken care of by his cousins (compound I) or by his neighbors who are related to him only in the broadest possible sense of the term (compounds D and N).

d) The play community of the children is encountered everywhere within the compounds, the ethnic differences not at all intervening. This and other elements, such as the life in the courtyards, the daily encounters at the water places, cause the women ultimately to have many more personal contacts than the men. The only case of a woman living relatively isolated is that of the Sarakolé woman already mentioned.

[857]

2. The picture is a little different when one passes to the larger framework of the block. It is moreover divided longitudinally, the relations clearly being more frequent among the compounds which face on the same street. It is necessary, however, to add the shadings.

a) The play groups of the children are still larger, and neither the ethnic group nor other differential elements seem to play a role in their formation, but only proximity and individual affinities.

[857]

b) As far as the women are concerned, the contacts that we noted above, conversations at the water place, etc., concern practically the whole block. On the other hand, visits and possible mutual aid occur almost exclusively among relatives, relatives by marriage, and women of the same ethnic group.

c) We have examined, for the men, the composition of groups of friends. In most cases, the majority of friends were dispersed throughout the town, these friends being either of the same ethnic group, of the same work group, or members of the same association -- these factors can all be combined, or

[572]

/37 cont./

combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate; for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

1 [i.e., trade union.-Analyst]

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/38 cont. /

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group				
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%	
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%	369 ^x
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%	621
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%	571
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%	563
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%	572
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%	565
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%	

We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

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/39 cont./

unequally. The scrutiny of the data concerning the neighborhood factor furnished by this same investigation is not finished; the first results seem to confirm those obtained in our monographic investigations: it in itself only plays a reduced role, only reinforcing the ties of some other origin. On the contrary, memberships in the same occupational milieu, in the same association, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. (1), are important [572]

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1. The study of the role of associations is reserved for another work.

factors in the formation of groups of friends. Finally, let us add that the average behaviors of ethnic groups are extremely variable. Their distribution, however, does not coincide exactly with the one that we have indicated in the domain of interethnic marriages. Only groups among whom the importance of the ethnic factor is clearly greater than the average, the Moors, the Peul, the Toucouleur, the Sarakolé; on the other hand it is slightly less among the Wolof and the Bambara, average among the Sérère, the Diola, the Soussou, the Cape Verdeans. The partial divergences between these two orders of data (2) pose in themselves a problem which will be the

2. Cf. II, E, 4.

subject of subsequent investigations.

We have studied essentially the permanent population of the town, moreover unequally stabilized. It remains to complete these data by the examination of the problems posed by the seasonal population, and, more generally, by the population without fixed residence. It is in this minority that one can really speak of facts of detribalization, in the sense of pure deterioration of the former social frameworks. On the contrary, we

[182]

17: Mercier--49 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/39 cont. /

have seen that in the permanent population the kinship structures and ethnic membership (3) played a considerable

3. It would also be necessary to examine the role played by the associations formed on an ethnic or regional basis.

role. Certainly, a new equilibrium has not been achieved everywhere, and we have noted that the kinship structures were not always adapted to the conditions of urban life. But one is far from dealing with an amorphous mass. Where one can speak /40/ of detribalization, among the elites of a new type, it is not in a purely negative sense. The crisis phase of traditional institutions has not completely passed. But the phase of reconstruction of institutions has begun; some average behavior which implies a certain equilibrium in new frameworks can already be disclosed. /Figs. 1-4 appear here. /

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[621]
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* 369

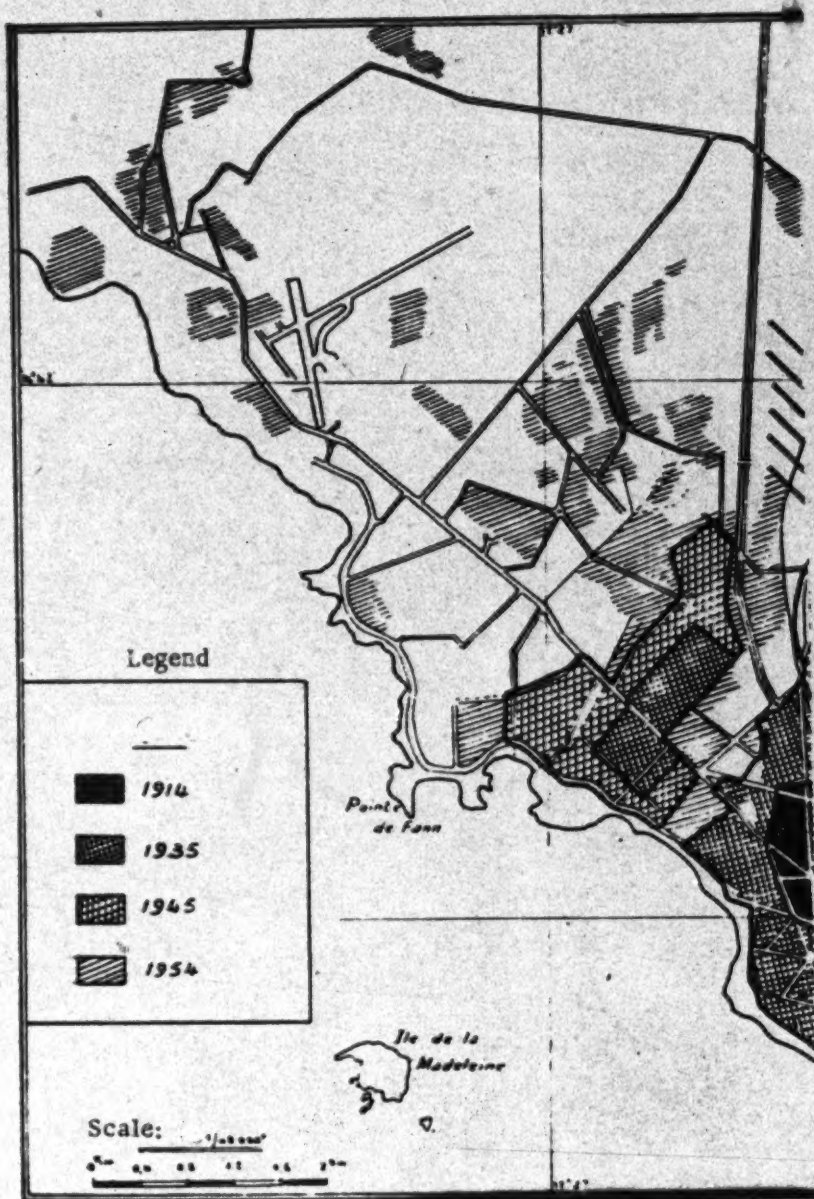


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
/left side of map/

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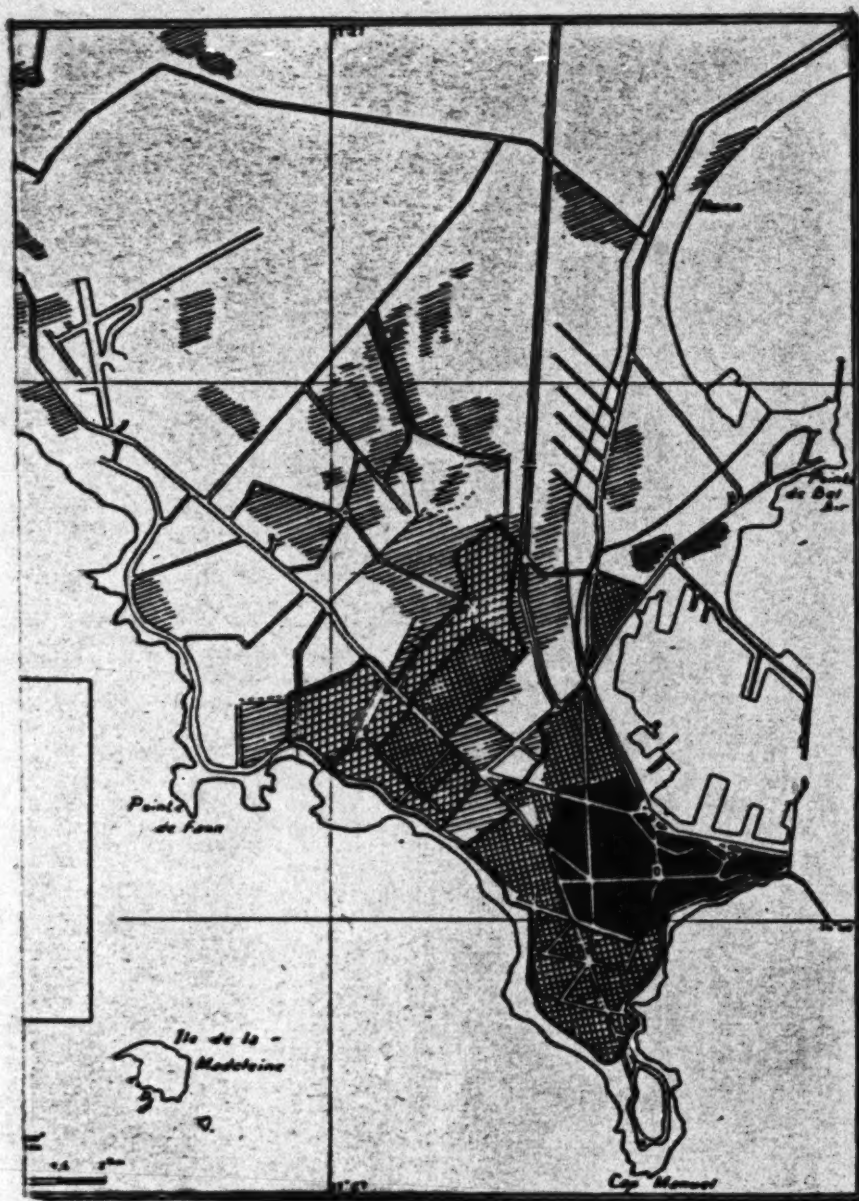


Fig. 1. Stages of the development of Dakar.
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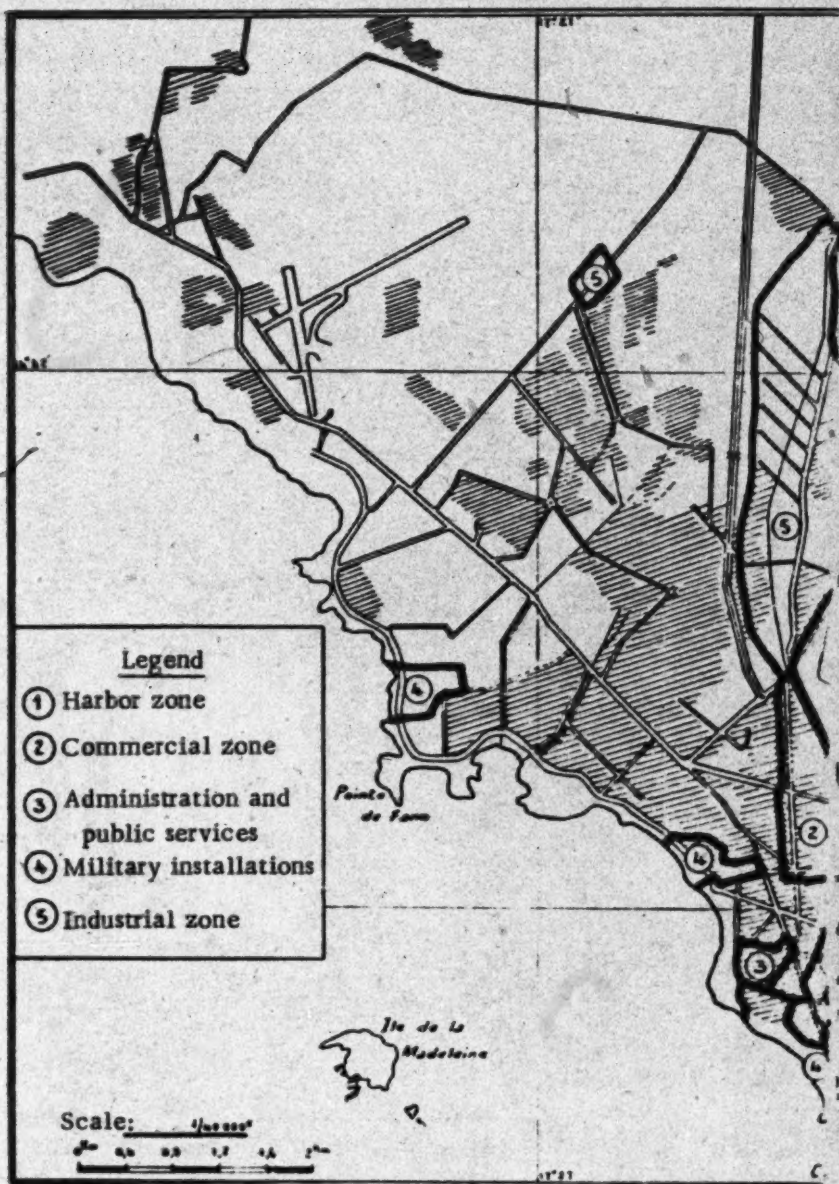


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar
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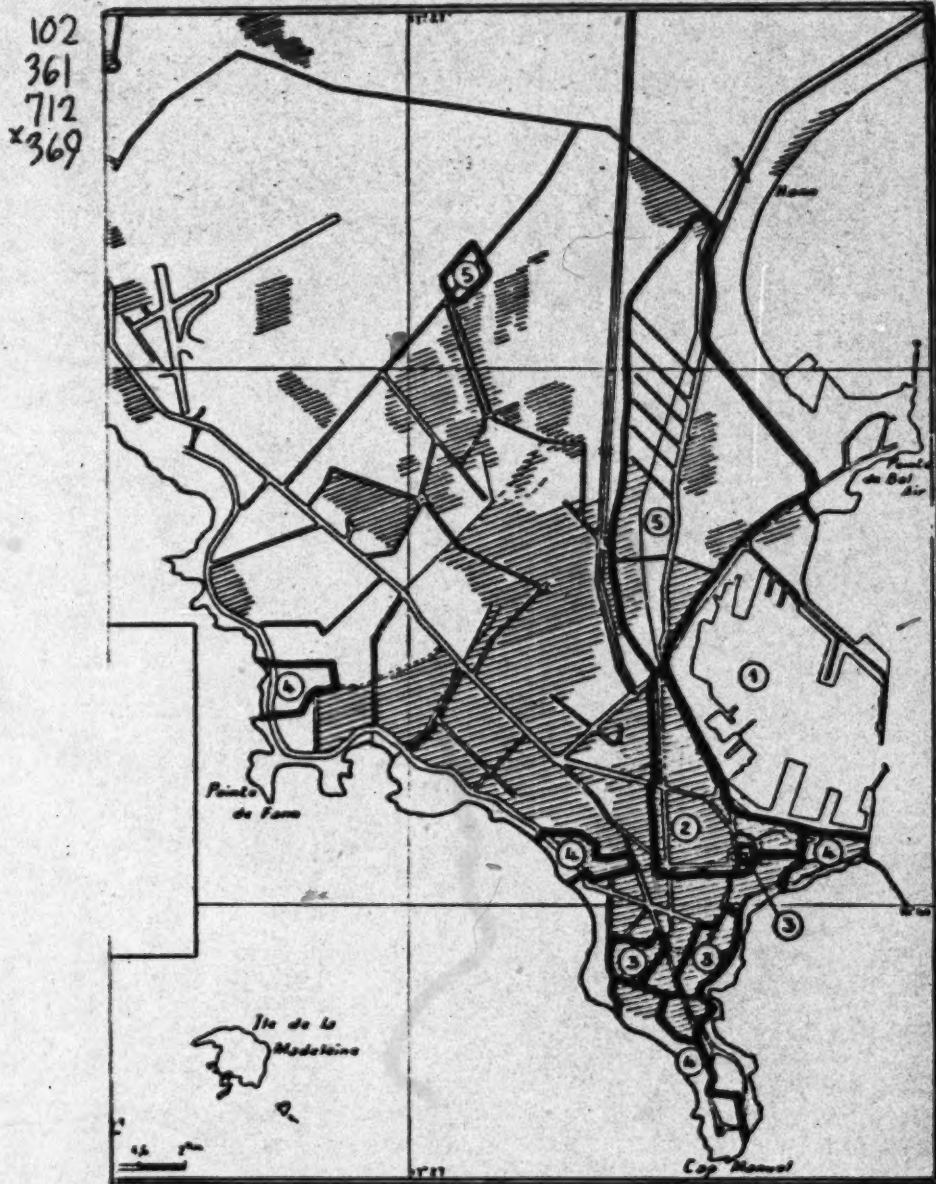


Fig. 2. Functional zones in the agglomeration of Dakar.
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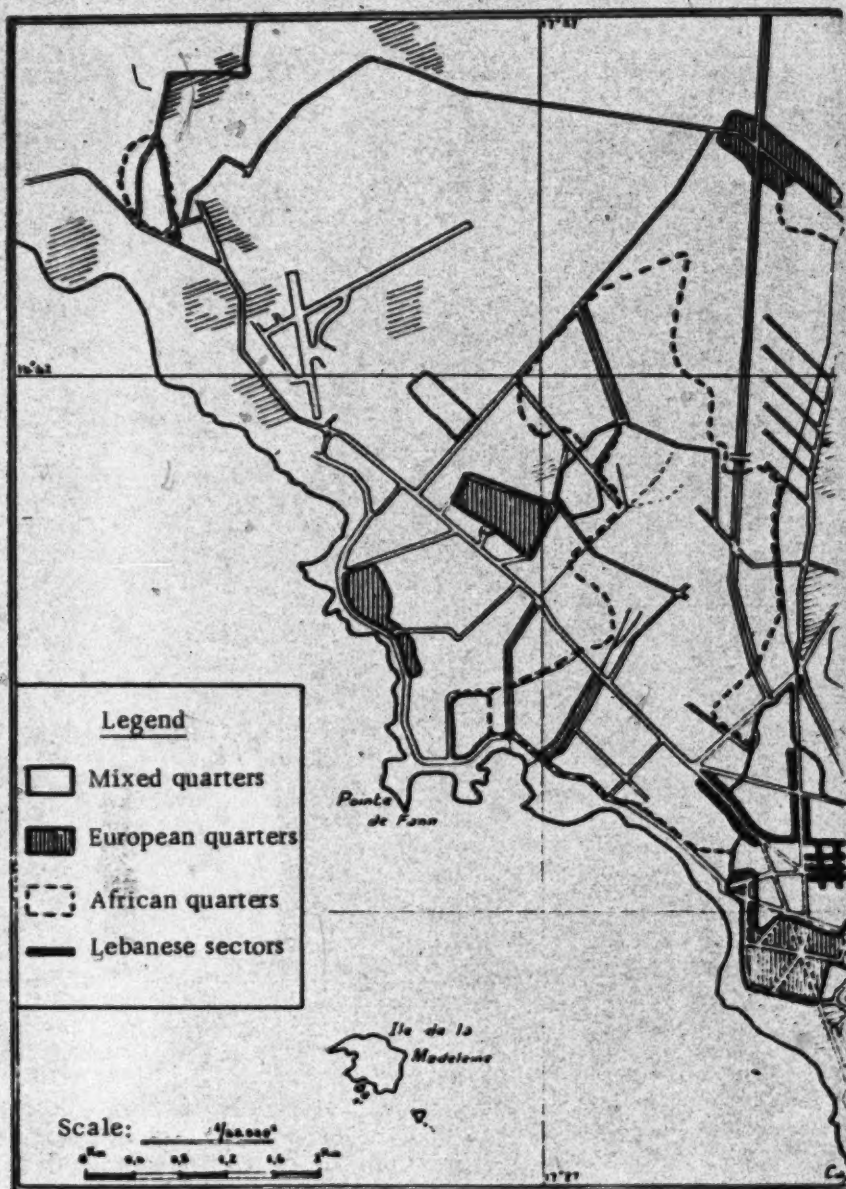


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
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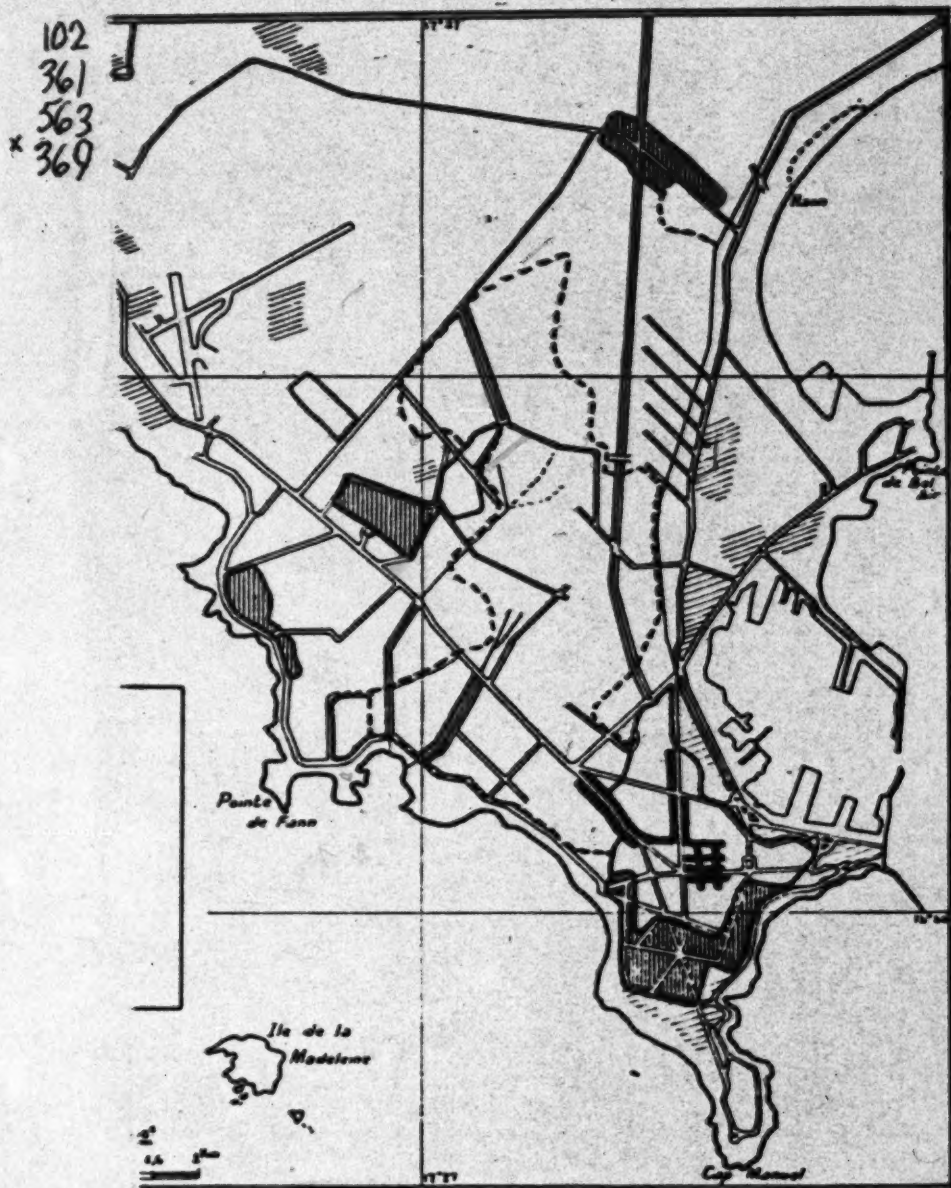


Fig. 3. Divisions of the Dakar habitat.
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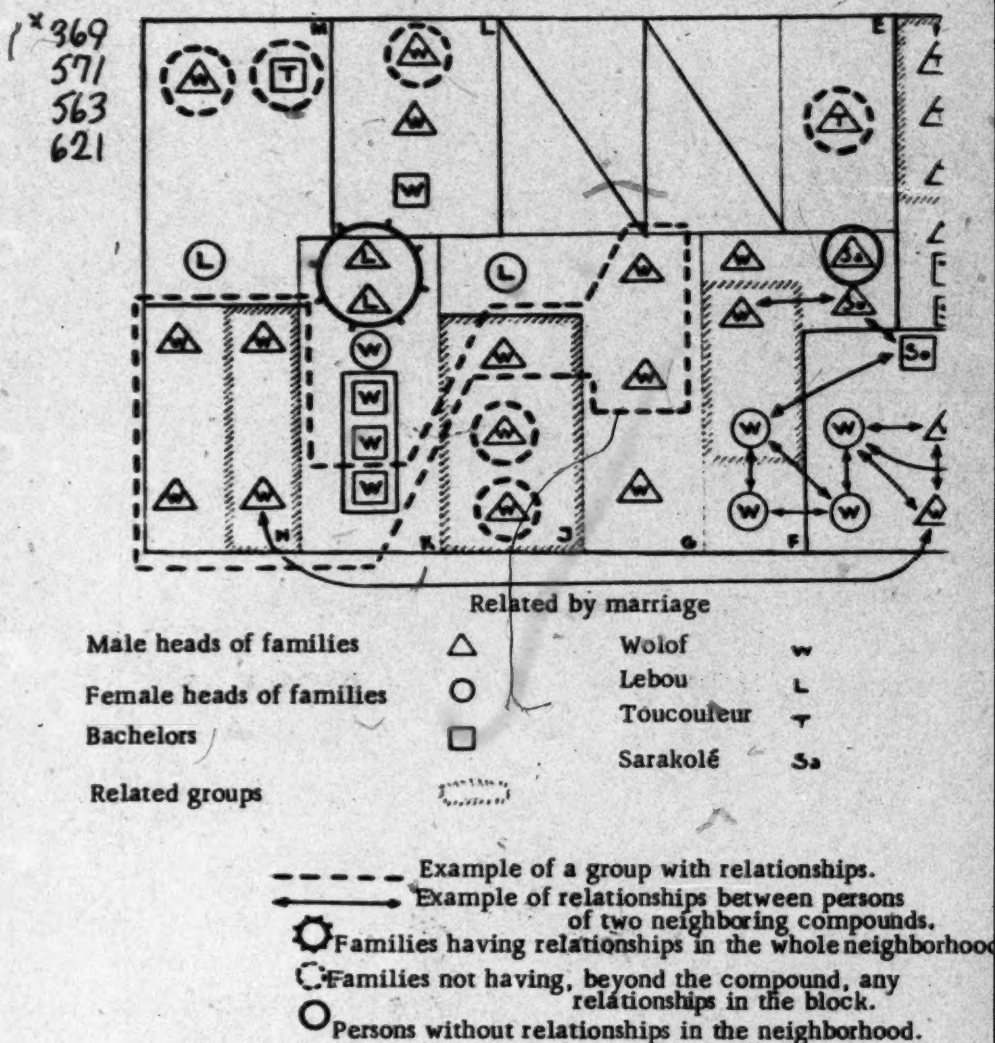
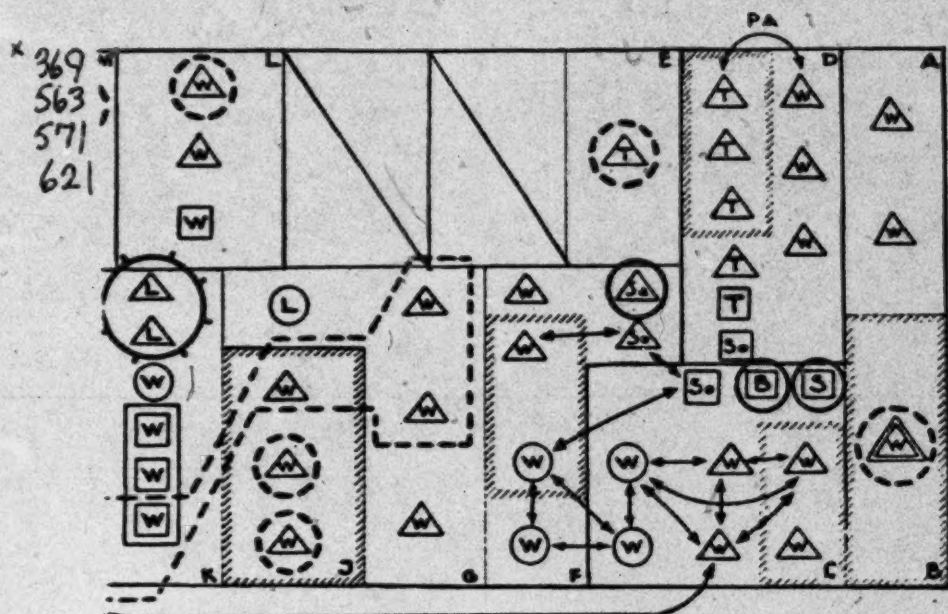


Fig. 4.
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Related by marriage

△	Wolof	w	Socé	So
○	Lebou	L	Soussou	S
□	Toucouleur	T	Bambara	B
	Sarakolé	So		

== /see left side of Fig. 4/

Fig. 4.
/right side of Fig. 4/